

Issue Twelve June 2020

aargh!

Aotearoa Anarchist Review



Topple



Them

Vicious Dogs & Ominous Weapons

AS 2019 passed into 2020 the Freedom Shop had a meeting. We spoke about what 2020 would bring – we talked dreams of revolution and change. And also remarked that it would be the year of a pandemic; the Spanish Influenza was 100 years ago, and there is the myth that a virus sweeps the world every 100 years. Besides, we had heard of the pneumonia in Wuhan. We talked history. If a virus did come in 2020, would depression follow and then war? Or could revolution come? It was an interesting discussion. Then COVID-19 came and we experienced a dramatic lockdown. As we publish this nearly nine million officially have the virus (but that number is only those who have been tested), and over 400,000 people confirmed as dead (this doesn't include all the others killed by COVID-19 but not counted). And then there are all the other deaths, collateral from the virus.

In this country we are hoping the “virus has been beaten”, or at least this wave. We had a five week lockdown when only essential workers were allowed out; low-paid workers were suddenly essential. But then we were straight back into the race to kill the climate, pillage the planet and exploit people; the government has scrapped the Resource Management Act, promised more motorways, introduced the COVID-19 Public Health Response Act, and has built a

COVID-19 Tracer app to get us all used to tracking. Ardern is pleading for ‘kiwis’ to get back to spending so life can be ‘normal’.

In the US though, there has been an explosion of protest. The police execution of George Floyd sparked a flame of insurrection. People are not just protesting police violence, they are confronting white privilege. Protests around the world are also occurring. Statues are toppling as the violence and racism that are the backbone of settler colonial states are challenged. The word ‘decolonisation’ is becoming mainstream. The powers that be are running scared and some officials in settler countries are taking down monuments and even calling for streets and towns to be renamed. Others, like Trump, threaten to enforce control with “vicious dogs and ominous weapons.” Both groups know that the protests have to be contained otherwise the whole system could topple.

We need to remember what Black American anarchist Lucy Parsons said, *"Governments never lead; they follow progress. When the prison, stake or scaffold can no longer silence the voice of the protesting minority, progress moves on a step, but not until then."*

For meaningful change, it is not just statues that need toppling.

Title images from top left: PM John Ballance with a pumpkin for a head, Pakaitore occupation, Whanganui (1995); Zealandia with an axe, Auckland (2018); John Hamilton with a noose, Kirikiriroa (2020), James Cook with the truth, Gisborne (2019).

**aargh! is an anarchist periodical produced in
Wellington, Aotearoa, by the Freedom Shop Collective.**

If you'd like another copy of this one, send us an envelope addressed to yourself and with an appropriate stamp and we'll mail you one. Send us ten dollars and we'll send five copies for you to give to your friends and family, who are bound to be delighted. Also feel free to send us money for more copies of this issue or a ten dollar subscription for the next four issues. We don't know when the next issue will come out, but it's sure to happen sometime.

**Contact us by e-mail at freedomshopaotearoa@gmail.com
or, if you are conversant with the technology, write to us by 'post' at
P.O. Box 9263,
Wellington 6141,
Aotearoa/New Zealand**

**And check our blog for news and events at
freedomshopaotearoa.blogspot.co.nz
ISSN 2382-1353 (Print)
ISSN 2382-1361 (Online)**

The Chance of a Lifetime

By Peppertree

SO MUCH should have been possible. And we should have known that capitalism wasn't going to budge. But we missed the opportunity to hit it hard while it was weak.

The lockdown was a different experience for everyone, and for those who lost their job, had difficulties feeding their family and paying rent, it is understandable to want nothing more than for everything to return to 'normal' as soon as possible.

But for many people, across cultures and age groups and even class, there was a feeling that the lockdown restrictions were providing some breathing space. The absence of endless shopping 'opportunities' (a.k.a consumer terrorism), of needless travel, of hour long commutes was seen as a reprieve. Even the mainstream media, usually the bull horns of capitalism, were full of articles about how nice it was to be able to hear birds over car engines, to be able to let the kids play outside without fear of them being run over.

Yes, we all missed being able to hang out with friends and to comfort each other. For some it meant being locked up with their abusers. Many others also suffered horrifically: urgent hospital care was put off, people reliant on caregivers for aid and home assistance suddenly had to do without, and for old and lonely people it was hell not being able to have visitors. No one wants to go back to that. But we should have been a lot more forceful to not allow this system to return to normality.

Instead of just being amazed that there was so much talk about mutual aid we should have turned that talk into a concrete set of demands of how we want the post-lockdown world to look like. We should have started up (virtual) groups all over the country to push those demands and to tell the government that restarting the economy by building another fucking motorway is not the way to go. Never in the last 20 or so years was there so much talk by so many people about not wanting the exact same crap world back that we had before.

We should have been prepared to march in the streets as soon as the lockdown restrictions even remotely allowed that. The recent Black Lives Matter protests show that it would have been possible to protest even with distancing and maximum number limits. Instead, we left protesting to the conspiracy theorists.

How hard was it really to take the government's list of "shovel ready" projects, rip it up and come up with demands to put those billions into the health system so that when the next virus comes around we don't need to panic about overloading the hospitals. So that rural Maori communities don't have to protect themselves by standing in the rain and asking travellers to please turn around because the health of so many people in those communities is such that no risk of infection can be taken. Surely when a country can eliminate a virus, it can eliminate poverty.

People have a desire for normality. Even if that normality is a bit shit, people tend to prefer it over uncertainty. The endless queues outside of KFC when level 4 was lifted were a symptom of that. It's not that anyone in those queues had illusions about how unhealthy the food was, it just gave a sense of having one's life back. But this is exactly how those in power remain there. Making people fear for their future is part of the system of exercising control. We are deliberately kept in constant fear of too much change, so that we don't demand too much. If nothing else helps, they dig up a scientific reason for it. Vic Uni psychologist Dougal Sutherland says about the lockdown: "Any time that you have change and uncertainty, that's a time when people are likely to feel stress and anxiety." Too much change is bad for your health. This is exactly what we should have challenged during lockdown.

So many failings of capitalism came to the fore as a result of COVID-19. Things that we have been talking about in theoretical terms for ages suddenly became crystal clear. The collapse of the tourism industry alone was a perfect example. The border closure became the single point of failure for large parts of the economy, tens of thousands of jobs disappeared



overnight. But instead of letting people hope that all the precarious, underpaid, back-to-back shift jobs come back, we should have demanded that they remain gone once and for all and outlined an alternative economy of sustainability, zero carbon emissions and guaranteed basic income. Even Jacinda's pet punk Siouxsie Wiles spoke about that.

This was the time where demanding radical change sounded reasonable to a lot of people, but we didn't use the chance. So many things suddenly were possible, from free public transport to WINZ actually helping people - but we weren't there to demand that they become permanent.

Now we're told to consume again like there is no tomorrow (which is probably true) and if we don't enjoy that there is something wrong with us. The above mentioned psychologist Sutherland declares a

dislike of hectic consumerism to be a pathological condition. He says there are people who felt unusually calm and "almost normal" during lockdown, and are now experiencing anxiety over going back into the "outside world". The old neo-liberal mantra – if you don't like the system there is something wrong with you, not the system.

Of course hindsight is a wonderful thing. We all know what we should have done afterwards. When the lockdown was announced we were all worried, like everyone else, about what was going to happen, how many people would die and if there was anything at all that could be done to stop the spread. But the radical left should have been one step ahead. We weren't prepared to spring into action once the initial fear was gone. Do we still have a chance? @@@

The NZ COVID Tracer App

By OASIS

THE NZ COVID-19 Tracer app became available in mid-May. This first iteration, though, was little more than a previously promised sign-up form to "help update our national health database with users' contact details."

Apart from ensuring our details are up-to-date, the other official benefit is that people get used to scanning themselves into premises. Just a few weeks of lockdown trained us to see the government as our saviour and each other as threats, to be suspicious of anyone outside of our bubble. And now we are getting used to voluntarily subjecting ourselves to a level of surveillance that, at the start of the year, would have been unthinkable.



Page three

We are being asked to be comfortable with a tool that could allow governments and corporations to know when and where we are. The companies and institutions that are building these tools are the same companies that abused trust in the past. The anti-terrorist surveillance world they wanted to build will now be sold to us as a pro-health world. Why are we suddenly thinking we can trust them?

But many people will trust the surveillance companies. We are already trained to use apps; we download and agree to so many different privacy and data sharing protocols and the consent we give to share our data is never really informed. As for surveillance, many people already have apps to track their families, even their own bodies and fitness levels, so it will not be a big step for many to use a COVID app.

Changes to the current NZ COVID-19 Tracer app will come. Ashley Bloomfield has said that, "*Bluetooth tracing capability could be added in a June update.*" and "*in the next release, NZ COVID Tracer will be able to notify you if you have been at the same location at the same time as someone who has COVID-19 and will allow you to send your digital diary directly to the National Close Contact Service.*" The app will also have a daily health check-in feature, a feature which already exists on the government's official WhatsApp channel.

Many people will believe that the data collected by contact tracing and tracking apps will be anonymised but to be meaningful the data cannot be anonymous.



There is also an argument that the app will only exist until we get a vaccine, but once (or if) there is a vaccine, what guarantee is there that the app expires? When we look at the history of the use of sunset clauses, the sunset never comes. Laws that were passed decades ago with limited duration still exist and have become accepted as the norm.

We have no idea of how any COVID-19 apps can be used in the future. Will our health status become part of a dossier accessible by government? And what about all those companies that the government contracts with? Who will profit financially from our data? Health data is highly prized. Data sovereignty is important.

We need to be considering the possible consequences of normalising tracking and tracing weighed up against any benefits. But most importantly, we need to ask if an app is really the answer.

We need to think about the future. COVID-19 is here now and will probably be around for at least a few

more years but regardless, it is likely that other pandemics will appear. We need to prepare for that prospect.

Rather than looking to technology for an answer to assist human contact tracers, could that time and money not be better spent on healthcare, housing and communities? Wouldn't it be better in the long-term to improve the general public health so that fewer people are vulnerable? And improve systems and communities so we can cope with sudden increases of people needing urgent medical attention? Or have warm and safe homes for all before there is a sudden need to self-isolate or lock down whole communities again. A living wage for all is also a good idea.

This first release of NZ COVID-19 Tracer is a tool getting us used to tracking. The next release will be tracing. We are building a possible architecture of surveillance. @@@

For more about OASIS: oasisfromsurveillance.blogspot.com

Everything Hurts

By Sojourn

RACIST POLICING is the norm. The execution of George Floyd was not abnormal and the protests and fightback that erupted in the US after his murder didn't come from nowhere. There had been resistance before and there have also been many, many deaths at the hands of police.

The protests that erupted after the killing of George Floyd is a reaction to the violence of capitalism and the dehumanisation of people which form the basis of colonisation and imperialism. The USA has never been the 'land of the free' nor the democracy it claims to be; the USA is founded on slavery and genocide of First Nation peoples. It is a settler colonial nation based on inequality and racism, as is New Zealand.

The solidarity protests around the world, and here, were not only in solidarity with Black Americans but also a stand against the racist violence of the status quo everywhere. And the symbols of that violence are the police because the police are violent, that is their job. The police are the guard dogs for the status quo.

Police manage inequality. In the US they have their roots in the slave patrols. In this country they got foisted upon us as part of the annexation in the 1840s. In both countries they are the institution that ensures the power of colonial governments and the continuation of the hyper-consumer capitalist cultures that we live in.

The killing of George Floyd brought to the fore the violence of the capitalist system and the inequalities within it.

"I can't breathe" and "Everything hurts" were what George Floyd was saying as the police killed him. These cries were his agony but when chanted around the world they became the call of so many people dispossessed and dehumanised by capitalism and colonisation.

As Black rights activist Al Sharpton said when giving the eulogy at George Floyd's memorial service:

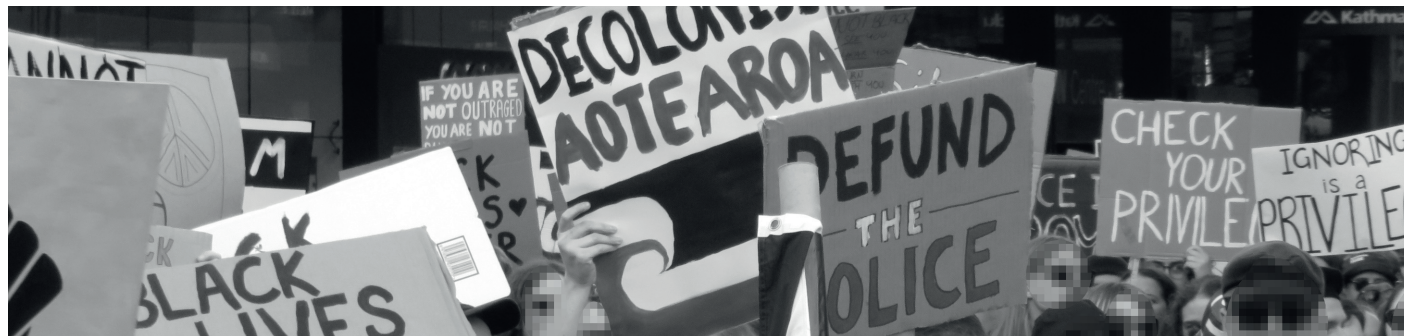
George Floyd's story has been the story of Black folks because ever since 401 years ago, the reason we could never be who we wanted to and dreamed to be is because you kept your knee on our neck ... What happened to Floyd happens every day in this country in education, in health services, and in every area of American life. It's time for us to stand up in George's name and say "get your knee of our necks".

It's not time to just charge four individual cops with murder or time to change another leader in government. These are all the normalcies of life. The police who killed George Floyd epitomise the current system, as does the current president in the White House. (The only difference with Trump is that he has made more obvious the inequities.) Changing people or locking people away will not stop the violence of the system, it will not prevent more killings.

Nor is it time to be satisfied with yet another review of police violence that may result in a few tweaks here and there and momentary improvement for a few. Capitalism cannot be reformed.

The killing of George Floyd has exposed the violence that exists in all settler colonial nations. It has exposed the failings of capitalism. It is time for the system of settler colonial privilege to be dismantled. This current system hurts too many. As Frantz Fanon said, *"When we revolt it's not for a particular culture. We revolt simply because, for a variety of reasons, we can no longer breathe."*

People can't breathe and everything does hurt. It is time to get that knee of peoples' necks. It is time for change. @@@



Black Lives Matter protest, Wellington, June 2020

The Disappearing People Act

By Peppertree

IN DECEMBER 2019, the NZ Parliament passed a new law, called the *Terrorism Suppression (Control Orders) Bill*. The law was rushed through – it was only introduced in October 2019, submissions were heard in November with only a few days notice and on 12 December, less than two months after being introduced, it was passed into law.

The reason for the new law and the urgency was that the NZ government was panicking. For years the Islamic State had been recruiting fighters from all over the world, including from NZ. In particular one person, Mark Taylor, made the news as the “bumbling jihadist”. That didn’t really worry the government, which had deployed troops in Iraq to train the local army in fighting the IS, and was supporting other countries who were actively engaged in fighting IS.

Perhaps the thinking was that eventually, all IS fighters would be either killed or trialed in the Middle East and sent to prison, so that the likelihood of any of them ever coming back to NZ was very low. Until mid 2019, a lot of them were held in detention by Kurdish units in Rojava, the autonomous northern part of Syria.

Then Turkish troops invaded Rojava and pushed back the Kurdish troops, which are considered terrorists by the Turkish government. The withdrawal of the Kurdish units meant that a lot of those IS prisoners were free. All of a sudden, the chance of Mark Taylor and others coming back to NZ was real.

So a new law was needed to deal with this situation. The existing Terrorism Suppression Act has a reasonably high threshold of proof, as the police found out in 2007, when they tried to apply it to Tuhoe activist Tame Iti and his supporters (the “Urewera 17”) – the Solicitor General simply ruled it out.

Basically, the existing laws said that just because someone went overseas and maybe fought with a terrorist organisation, although we don’t know how and where and to what extent they were involved, this is

not sufficient reason to lock them up when they come back. Justice Minister Andrew Little even stated it: “Control orders are an effective way of managing risk if criminal prosecution is not possible, for example due to insufficient evidence being available from current overseas conflict zones.”

So the state wanted to make sure that those people coming back from the Middle East could be pretty much locked up without going through the cumbersome process of proving their guilt. This is what the Control Orders Act does.

In essence, it allows the police to impose severe restrictions on a person’s life – such as a curfew, not going to certain places or meeting certain people, no access to the internet, regular reporting to the police station, only using a phone that the cops have prepared for them, having their house searched regularly, or wearing electronic bracelets for monitoring – without a prosecutor having to prove that the person has committed a crime. All that is needed is that the Police Commissioner has “reasonable grounds” to believe that it is in the public interest to impose this regime. And without that person knowing on what information all this is based on and without the ability to defend themselves.

This is made possible by the fact that control orders do not come under the criminal law, where the concept of “innocent until proven guilty” applies (in lawyers’



terms, the threshold of “beyond reasonable doubt”), but instead under civil law, where having “reasonable grounds to believe” is sufficient for a verdict (the threshold of “balance of probabilities”).

This is not the only law change in recent times where the threshold for the state taking action against someone is frighteningly low. The Criminal Proceeds (Recovery) Act 2009 introduced the ability of the police to seize someone’s house, car or any other possession if they believe that these things were paid for with money from criminal activity. The person does not have to be convicted of any crime, or even investigated – the cops only need to have “reason to believe” that this is the case. The Control Orders Act is another step in this direction.

But that is not all. The court hearings where the police applications for control orders are heard, are effectively secret. The person concerned has no knowledge of them happening and permanent name suppression applies. This means that you are not allowed to tell anyone that you have been issued with a control order – because doing so would breach your own name suppression. And that would be contempt of court, which is then a criminal matter and can lead to a prison sentence.

So in a secret court hearing, a judge rules on the basis of information from the police only, in the absence of the defendant or their lawyer. Once a control order has been issued, it can be appealed with the help of a court-appointed “special advocate” who must have security clearance to view the evidence and must be qualified for the job – in the eyes of the court. So even your lawyer isn’t necessarily working in your interest.

If this sounds Kafkaesque, it truly is, even down to the term “special advocate”. If you’re too young to know what Kafkaesque means, do watch the film *The Trial* by Orson Welles from 1962. Or better yet, read the book by Franz Kafka from 1925.

“The Bill represents an extraordinary and unprecedented intrusion on individual’s rights to privacy and liberty. It is, in my view an affront to the principles of due process and the principles on which our criminal justice system are based.”
Privacy Commissioner John Edwards

One person who has experienced this situation is the Algerian refugee Ahmed Zaoui, who arrived in NZ in 2001 and claimed asylum. Despite being found a genuine refugee by the Refugee Status Authority, Zaoui was detained by the NZ police and remanded in prison for two years, one of them in solitary confinement. He was considered a terrorism risk and his imprisonment was based on a security risk assessment by the SIS, which was based on an assessment by the Belgian government, which in turn was based on one by the French government, which considers the political party Zaoui was a member of a terrorist organisation. The NZ courts accepted this assessment without questioning.

Zaoui and his lawyer Deborah Manning were not given access to the sources of the SIS assessment and could therefore not question its validity. Only after a sustained publicity campaign by refugee activists and NGOs, and an offer of accommodation by a Catholic friar, was Zaoui finally released.

But back to the new law. Despite the very short timeframe, 114 people and organisations managed to make submissions on the Control Orders Bill.

One of them was from the Privacy Commissioner John Edward, who called it “an obnoxious piece of legislation that should not proceed”. Many people pointed out that the law violates several sections of the Bill of Rights Act, and the Control Orders Act even states that. But that doesn’t stop a Labour government from passing it into law.

A lot of people have raised the issue that this might be used to silence political activists, and there is a real danger of that happening – see the attempt to use the Terrorism Suppression Act against tino rangā-tiratanga activists in 2007. But that is beside the point.

The Control Orders Act was created to deal with one person – Mark Taylor. For that, it simply undoes the



human rights for everyone. It enables the state to effectively ‘disappear’ people. If you’re under a control order that prevents you from contacting your friends, and you can’t tell anyone why you’re no longer replying to their calls or messages then you practically no longer exist.

The worst thing is that this is the work of an allegedly progressive government. Not even the Greens opposed the Bill. They believe that inserting the “special

advocate” clause makes it OK to take people’s rights away (“This protection will ensure fair process and access to justice”). During the third reading of the Bill, Golriz Ghahraman proudly stated that “the Green Party, for the first time in its history, was at the decision making table on an anti-terror law.” There is a price to be paid for being allowed to sit with the grown-ups. The National Party, as expected, even wanted the law to apply to children. @@@

I am not your Negro

Raoul Peck, James Baldwin (2016)

By Peppertree

A 90 MINUTE film based on a loose manuscript of just 30 pages from 40 years earlier – how can that work? It can and it does, quite impressively.

I am not your Negro is a film by Raoul Peck (*The young Karl Marx*), based on notes from the mid ‘70s by writer and activist James Baldwin (1924-1987).

The film explores the relationship – both personal and political – between Baldwin and three other key figures in the US black liberation movement of the 1960s who were all assassinated: Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr. and Medgar Evers.

They come from very different political angles. Malcolm X, former leader of the Nation of Islam which Muhammed Ali also belonged to, believed that black people should fight “by any means necessary”. Everyone knows Martin Luther King, a firm believer in non-violence, and his speech “I have a dream”. The lesser known Medgar Evers was secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in his home state Mississippi. He played a major role in ending racial segregation by suing the University of Mississippi for admission to its law school (and more practical things like access to the toilets at petrol stations).

Three different belief systems and strategies that Baldwin links together in his script, which is narrated and superimposed with TV and film footage from the time. Baldwin, a playwright, poet, essayist and gay activist, was also a frequent guest in talk shows where he explained these links. It becomes clear that the range of different strategies and avenues was exactly the strength of this movement. While Malcolm X and King may have sounded contradictory, they still worked for the same goal. They simply talked to a different audience.

That would make for a good film alone, but Raoul Peck also adds the present (2016), which makes it really powerful. We see the overt racism in TV adverts of the ‘60s followed by grainy footage of police beating up black protesters with wooden batons, and we can’t help thinking how much progress there’s been since then. And just when we’re feeling comfy, we see heavily armed cops firing rubber bullets at protesters in Ferguson in 2016, this time in hi-res. If the film was made today, the present-day footage would be even more stark.

I watched the film just prior to the murder of George Floyd. I had no idea that a few weeks later, the subject of black liberation would be so topical. On August 28, the anniversary of Martin Luther King’s famous speech in Washington, the Black Lives Matter movement will be marching on Washington again. King’s son, Martin III, will be part of it. History lives on and there is a lot to be learned from it. @@@



How to Survive 2020 Based On Your Star Sign

By the Freedom Shop Senior Astrologist

POST-LOCKDOWN, everyone seems much more aware of the shifting seasons. We've emerged from our isolation in the depth of Winter – a weird behavioural reversal; at this time of year we should be hunkering down and resting, but all we want to do is go to a goddamn gig, join a protest and hug a stranger. Matariki rose while the new moon in Cancer eclipsed the sun. K-pop fans are standing in solidarity with Black Lives Matters protestors by over-loading police channels. In Aotearoa we're back to role-playing capitalist exchange as if the system isn't breaking in front of us. The election is less than 90 days away. A dense fog has been sitting over Aro Valley all morning, and just now it is lifting, and the sky is perfectly blue.

Follow these simple steps to get through.

Aries (March 21 - April 19)

Consider that this is actually a pretty good time to invest in the stock market. This is definitely not Actual Investment Advice but look, just because we live in a capitalist hell-world doesn't mean we can't benefit from their imaginary money systems, right? Since all of the stocks are down and cheap right now, you can buy them, and then in 50 years, you might have more money. And you can buy an e-bike.

Taurus (April 20- May 20)

Sometimes the weather forecast promises a thunderstorm, so you take in your washing and you wait for it all day and it never comes. And instead of that big release of tension that usually comes when the rain starts falling, the tension just slowly, gently fades away. And you're left kind of unfulfilled but already forgetting what it was you prepared for. A kind of hollow and lonely feeling – but it's better than having wet laundry.

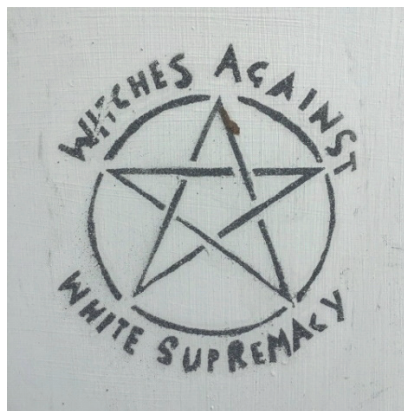
Don't trust the weather forecast, but do prepare for it.

Gemini (May 21 - June 20)

Try not to live too much in the past. There's no other period in history that really compares to what we're going through right now. There's definitely no period in your short life that equates to what you will go through this decade. Don't think about re-creating what was. Start wearing clothing that actually fits you.

Cancer (June 21 - July 22)

Stop comfort shopping and learn to forage. What I'm saying is that nature will provide if we chill the fuck



out with all of this consuming. Blackberry season is over but mushrooms are sprouting from the rain, and these seasons are cyclical, and you are not alone.

Leo (July 23 - August 22)

Start playing videogames.

It's not escapism; it's self-care. The game *A Short Hike* is really lovely when you're trapped inside by the rain. Play a competitive game and you can invite your friends over. If

you get into the fighting game *Soul Calibur VI* specifically then please hit me up.

Virgo (August 23 - September 22)

You probably can't save the whole world. Not even with really good time-management skills, I'm sorry. You can definitely make life better for the people around you in small ways. It's time to do some choosing. Not necessarily to choose what you care about the MOST, but to recognise what you can effect the most. Is it the outcome of the 2020 general election? Is it the health of your veggie garden? Is it the happiness of your friends? Get on it.

Libra (September 23 - October 22)

Yeah, there might be a second wave of infections in Aotearoa. Keep trying to stop touching your face but you will not succeed. Instead, consider who in your life you would be willing to contract a virus from. Spend your time with them. Get close to them. Hold each other. Cough into your elbow when on public transport but know that this is primarily a symbolic gesture.

Scorpio (October 23 - November 21)

Make art. While the world is burning and a virus isolates us, we need ways to see and understand each other. Your art doesn't have to be very good – I'm not even sure what that means. It's just important that you make it. As a Scorpio you're swimming in feelings most of the time. If you can express those feelings and one other person feels better for seeing themselves in them, then that's it, man. That's your purpose.

Sagittarius (November 22 - December 21)

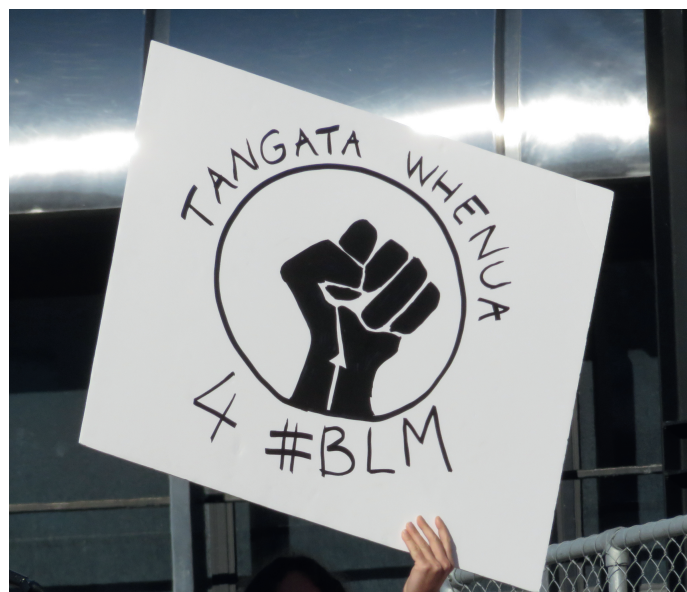
Be like a tortoise and start making long-term plans. I know it feels counter-intuitive. I know it feels like a really silly time to be opening a savings account and that you have many ideas and projects that need to be pursued immediately and with your entire heart and soul. But we need you in this fight for the long-haul. Slow and steady wins the race.

Capricorn (December 22 - January 19)

This isn't the time to be on LinkedIn. Most of the people who will carry you through this decade are in your life already. Prioritise them over networking, especially over networking with men. What they're offering you isn't real. Your friends and family are real.

Aquarius (January 20 - February 18)

Let's be honest, this is an especially hard time for you Aquarius. It's like you've known this was coming for a long time but no one listened to you, and now you can't even say "I told you so" because that would seem crass in the face of a global pre-apocalypse.



Black Lives Matter protest, Wellington, June 2020

Help us see the future. We've had too many post-apocalyptic movies and now it's impossible for many of us to imagine an eco-utopia, or even a future that still has birds in it. You've got to keep dreaming the big dreams and designing the sci-fi future we've forgotten.

Pisces (February 19 - March 20)

Maintain a diet of fibre-rich foods and appropriate vitamin supplements. Vitamin C isn't that good unless also taken with Echinacea. Limit your caffeine intake throughout the Winter and consider accessible sources of Vitamin D. How about that stream of sunlight that only hits your room for one hour in the afternoon? Sit directly in it.



Statue of slave trader Edward Colston is dumped into the river in Bristol, England (2020)

What do Anarchists actually want?

The Government of No One: The Theory and Practice of Anarchism.

Ruth Kinna. Pelican 2019

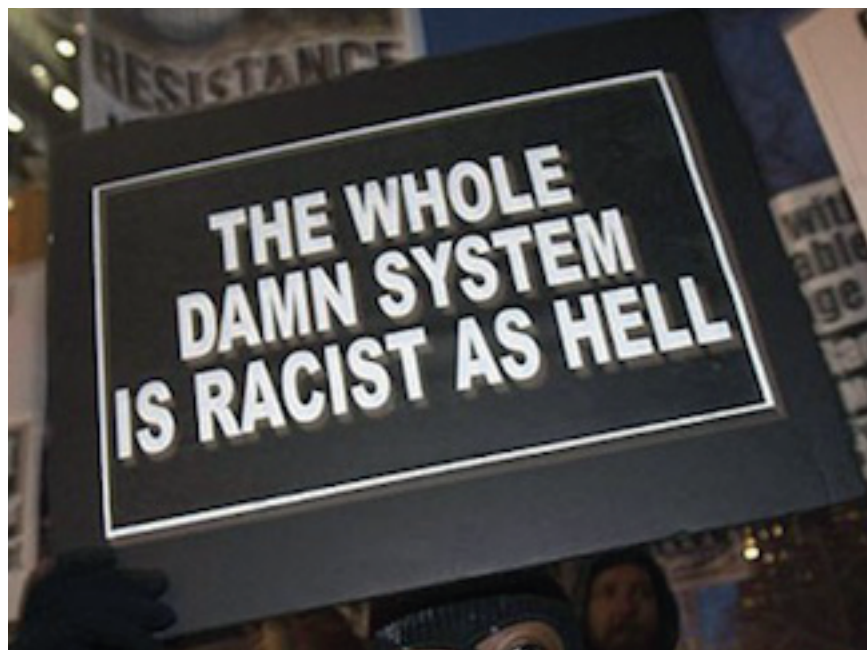
By Henry Laws

“WHAT DO anarchists actually want?” “Why is anarchism such a controversial movement?” “How does it work in practice?” These are the questions on the back of the hardback edition of *The Government of No One: The Theory and Practice of Anarchism* that Ruth Kinna seeks to answer. Having written *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide* in 2005, this new book differs from that one not only in terms of size (432 pages vs. *Anarchism’s* 189) but also in terms of how it seeks to answer that question. Whereas *Anarchism* answers the question through chapters on anarchism as an ideology, its critique of the state, what an anarchist society would be like and how to create it, *The Government of No One* takes an unorthodox approach. More specifically, Kinna structures the book around five theme-based chapters: “Traditions”, “Cultures”, “Practices”, “Conditions”, and “Prospects”. Kinna does this as she understands anarchism as a multi-tendency tradition rather than having a canon, as an ideology that can be understood historically both before and after its origins, from multiple geographical positions and from different angles. Kinna has also done this as she portrays anarchism as a history of ideas in conversation rather than as an ideology just in its social and historical context.

In “Traditions”, Kinna analyses how anarchism arose in the late 19th century through three events. The first is anarchist’s theoretical and political struggles against the Marxists within the First International, resulting in the anarchist-Marxist split in 1872. The second was the French Republicans suppression of the 1871 Paris Commune. The third was the anti-anarchist reaction and intense debates around political violence before and after the 1886 Haymarket Affair. She then examines the early attempts by Paul Eltzbacher, Michael Schaack and E.V. Zenker to create an anarchist canon and endorses the criticisms of such attempts by anarchists, with her arguing that anarchism is made up of a diversity of traditions that cannot be captured by a canon and that anarchism is better understood by placing such traditions in their historical context.

In “Cultures”, Kinna discusses anarchist critiques of existing societies. More specifically, Kinna covers Rudolf Rocker’s critique of nationalism, Sigmund Engländer’s critique of law, Mikhail Bakunin and Leo Tolstoy’s secular and religious critiques respectively of social hierarchy, as well as Elisee Reclus’s and Voltairine de Cleyre’s critiques of colonialism. She then elaborates on classical and contemporary anarchist thought and practice on education, knowledge and skill-sharing and how this contributes to creating an anarchist society through discussing the thought and practice of Colin Ward, Herbert Read, Paul Goodman, Max Stirner, John Zerzan, Liu Shifu, Errico Malatesta and Peter Kropotkin on these topics.

In “Practices”, Kinna first summarises the debate within late 19th century anarchism about the use of political violence, with the majority of anarchists rejecting it. She then elaborates on a range of divisions regarding means and ends within the anarchist movement, including divisions around communism and individualism, pro-organisation and anti-organisation as well as evolution and revolution. Kinna then moves on to the period during and after the First World



War to discuss how this period led to revitalised debates on violence and pacifism amongst anarchists. She then jumps forward to the 1960s-1970s to discuss how anarchists conceived of violence during the rise of guerrilla warfare and the counter-culture. Kinna then finishes her discussion on tactics by outlining five forms of contemporary anarchist practices and their differences: insurrectionary, class-struggle, post-left, social, post-anarchist and small-a anarchism. She then examines these divisions' theoretical foundations by discussing anarchist conceptions of class, anarchism's interactions with intersectionality, the tensions between class struggle and intersectional anarchisms, as well as anarcho-feminism.

In "Conditions", Kinna elaborates on differences between conceptions of an anarchist constitution for formal organisations held by individualist and communist anarchists. She does this by using as examples the models proposed by the two individualist anarchists David Andrade and Victor Yarros as well as the constitutions supported by anarcho-communist Platformists after the Russian Revolution and the peasants during the Spanish Revolution. Kinna then outlines the relationship of anarchism to utopianism and how some supported using the term in regards to anarchism like Marie-Louise Berneri, Colin Ward, Louisa Bevington, Kropotkin, Hans Widmer and Hakim Bey, while other anarchists oppose any association of anarchism with utopianism. She concludes the chapter by discussing anarchist criticisms of democracy under capitalism, how some anarchists have conceived of anarchism as real democracy like Noam Chomsky and Murray Bookchin, while other anarchists are opposed to any form of democracy like the post-leftists.

In the last chapter "Prospects", Kinna refutes the argument that anarchism has failed by arguing that anarchism's successes should be evaluated by anarchists contributions to social change through anarchists helping win the eight-hour working day, access to contraception and other reforms as well as participating in Rojava. She then moves onto the problem raised by James C. Scott of how desirable abolishing the state is and how anarchists can maintain equality, mutual aid and freedom without the state. Kinna addresses it by drawing on Chomsky, Scott Crow and George Woodcock's arguments that state welfare only reduces the state's oppression and that they were won through social struggles that anarchists were part of. She then draws on Paul Goodman's writings to argue that the anarchist dilemma should not be between statism and anarchism but about struggling for social change

within existing society on anarchist principles. Kinna then concludes that the abolition of the state and the replacement of its services should be abandoned as a way of understanding anarchist social change in favour of an anarchisation of existing social structures. She then elaborates on two conceptions of anarchisation, their risks and how they can be used simultaneously: convergence, where anarchism is presented as accessible and as common sense to draw mass support, and disjuncture, where anarchism is present as a transgression that exposes society's oppression and illustrates an alternative. Kinna concludes the chapter by discussing anarchist arguments in favour and in opposition to engaging in political sacrifice, with Kinna arguing that anarchists must engage in political sacrifice to be consistent with their principles and goals.

So does *The Government of No One* answer the three questions at the beginning of this review? It certainly does, with it answering "What do anarchists actually want?" by comprehensively detailing what kind of society that they want and how to achieve it through using the most prominent historical and contemporary anarchist militants to elaborate on this. In addition, Kinna answers "Why is anarchism such a controversial movement?" through an exhaustive examination of anarchist theory and principles by reference to past and present anarchist theorists, how existing society has responded to anarchism through extensive usage of existing histories of state and capitalist responses to anarchism and refuting common myths about anarchism through using her nearly thirty years of experience writing on anarchism. She also answers "How does it work in practice?" excellently through using existing histories of anarchism to illustrate how anarchists have organised in the past and present in everyday social struggle as well as how they organised themselves during social revolution.

Kinna's answers to the three questions are also aided by other components of the book. These include having a massive list of biographies on historical and contemporary anarchists that is extremely helpful to people who are new to anarchism in understanding the lives of the anarchists who are named throughout the book. In addition, Kinna's decision to structure the book thematically allows her to illustrate the commonalities in regards to theory, means and ends within anarchism that have existed across different times and spaces in addition to the divisions. Her conception of anarchism as an ideology with multiple traditions also allows her to provide a wide-reaching survey of historical and contemporary anarchist

tendencies that are usually written about in separate texts like anarcho-communism and post-left anarchism, class struggle anarchism alongside intersectional anarchism and so on. Kinna's refusal to set out an anarchist canon has the merit of emphasising to readers that anarchism is not a fixed dogma but a living and ever changing ideology and social movement. Lastly, her broad understanding of the conditions required for an anarchist society also leads her to a discussion of a topic that doesn't receive nearly enough attention in either academia, within anarchism, or wider society, which is the constitutions that formal anarchist groups need to function.

That being said, there are several problems with *The Government of No One's* structure and content. Regarding structure, while the thematic structure has the merits listed above, it also has the drawback of leading to the structure being erratic, as the book repeatedly switches between different topics and time periods within each chapter, leading it to be difficult and confusing to read at times. Given that, it would have been preferable if it had a more conventional structure like *Anarchism* had. In addition, while the anarchist biographies are very helpful for people new to anarchism to understand key historical and contemporary anarchists, this accessibility is not consistent. This is because the language in certain parts is more complex and academic than is necessary, so the wording could have been simplified to have made it more accessible to a wider audience. Also, the decision to portray anarchism as a history of ideas in conversation leads at times to anarchist principles and practices being disconnected from the social and historical context that they were part of, which can lead to arguments regarding anarchist means and ends appearing to be timeless dogmas rather than

positions made in a specific time and place that can and has changed. Given that, placing such arguments more in their context would have made them easier to understand.

Regarding content, Kinna's ambition to portray anarchism as a diverse tradition does not go as far as it could have. This is because the majority of anarchist theorists and movements that are covered in the book are in Western countries, when an increasing body of research and global communication from the early 21st century onwards has led to an increasing awareness of and connection to African, Asia-Pacific, indigenous and other anarchisms, which should be incorporated in introductions to anarchism being released today. In addition, unfortunately "Prospects" focus on discussing anarchisation leads to minimal elaboration of contemporary anarchists discussing how to build mass movements to not only anarchise statist and capitalist social relations but to dismantle them and establish global anarchy through revolution. While it may be the case that right now it's more likely that anarchists can anarchise existing social relations rather than abolish the state, capitalism etc. and establish anarchy, given the existential social and environmental crisis that humanity is facing that has been caused by the capitalist and statist world system, it is unfortunate that there is little discussion about how anarchisation may be insufficient to address this crisis and how it may lead to anarchism just becoming the direct action arm of movements to reform the state and capitalism.

Despite these problems, I would commend Kinna for writing this introduction to anarchism and I would recommend that fellow anarchists and non-anarchists read this book to improve their knowledge about anarchist thought and practice for reasons given above. In light of the massive misunderstandings about anarchism still present in wider society and amongst the rest of the radical left, it is vital that anarchists create literature that dispels the myths about anarchism, clearly states our thought and practice and demonstrates why anarchism is needed to solve the social and environment problems of our time. @@@

Thanks to Ruth Kinna for helping me get a review copy of this book from Penguin.



APEC is Coming

ONE OF the big events that was planned to dominate the news in 2020 was Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) but then along came COVID-19 and news about APEC fell by the wayside. Now that we are being touted as one of a handful of countries to be 'COVID-19 free', APEC will slowly come back into the news. Unless something dramatically changes with COVID-19, we will be hosting APEC. After all, it is exactly what Jacinda Ardern has been saying we need – a project that will be good for the economy.

APEC will bring approximately 20,000 'foreign experts' to the country for various conferences and meetings. The first meeting of which is set to occur in Wellington in December. The main APEC Summit will not take place until November 2021.

The government claims APEC will be the "largest international event ever hosted by the New Zealand Government", but in reality it will just be a huge theatrical display of power and control to pretend that all is well with capitalism and that there is no crisis of any kind, anywhere. Millions of dollars will be spent to host the event and people such as Trump, Putin, Duterte and Morrison (or their replacements) will be here.

So what is APEC?

Established in 1989, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation is a nasty inter-governmental forum of 'Pacific Rim' countries dominated by the needs of governments from Australia, China, Japan, Russia and USA (and NZ) all wanting to continue the craziness of neoliberalism.

Using words like 'free-trade', 'liberalisation' and 'deregulation' APEC's agenda is to create destructive trade agreements that benefit the rich members and trans-national corporations. APEC is a key tool allowing transnational corporations the right to use resources for their profits.

APEC are upfront about their goal, they say "APEC's 21 members aim to create greater prosperity for the people of the region by promoting balanced, inclusive, sustainable, innovative and secure growth and by accelerating regional economic integration." The fancy words can be summed up as a desire for a global free market and trade liberalisation. Their agenda is one of endless capitalist growth at the expense of communities, people and the environment.

The birth of APEC 30 years ago was described as a reaction to the major trade blocks established in Europe and North America. But in reality APEC is a continuation of the colonisation of the Pacific region by super-powers, white settler countries and multi-nationals. APEC is based on invasion and dispossession.

Deregulation of industries, environmental laws, and labour laws enable corporations to move more freely between countries, chasing profit. Companies such as Adani, Freemantle and Wilmar International (just to name a few) are able to destroy landscapes and communities and take the profit for themselves – over the needs of indigenous people of Australia, of the people of Bougainville, and indigenous people of Indonesia. Other trans-nationals and businesses prosper off the backs of tangata whenua and tangata o le moana, of the Ainu, the Aboriginals and First Nation people and many, many more.

APEC Histories

The previous time APEC was held here people came from many places, including Australia, Fiji, Vanuatu, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Canada, Indonesia, Philippines, Bougainville, and the USA. Counter conferences were held and also a two-day forum called "Alternatives To The APEC Agenda". During the forum, APEC was described as the 'white knights of colonisation' and in the opening speech for the conference, Moana Jackson outlined that globalisation is "part and parcel of the same colonisation process that has sought to commodify all things for private profit."

The "Alternatives to APEC" forum ended with a spontaneous march on the hotel where the then PM of NZ, Jenny Shipley, was staying. Other protests included what was described as the largest ever Free East Timor march. (In 2021, if it's still needed, maybe we can have the largest ever Free West Papua march.)

In 1999, a range of local people and groups organised against APEC: Māori Against APEC, Immigrants, Women, Farmers, Students, Academics, even Witches Against APEC. Existing groups and organisations included the Unemployed Workers Rights Centre, Trade Aid, the Greens, Greenpeace and many trade unions. It was a broad fightback. But we didn't stop APEC.

We need to stop APEC

LAST YEAR in Chile people did succeed in ensuring APEC wouldn't happen there. After months of protest against neo-liberalism begun by a high school student strike and direct action against public transport fare increases the Chile government was forced to back down from hosting APEC. Because of the protests APEC would not be the positive global theatric display the Chilean government wanted so it had to be cancelled.

We have more than a year now for us to start working to stop APEC.

Last year high school students organised marches and protests to highlight the climate crisis. There were calls to declare climate emergencies and tweak legislation, more 'green jobs' were created and new energy targets and resources introduced. Yet getting rid of plastic bags in supermarkets but still buying Bonito bananas and instant noodles made with Palm Oil or buying Nike shoes or H & M clothing or iPhones does not change much in the long run at all. We won't end the abusive relationships between the CEOs and the workers, between the rich and everyone else, between the exploiters and the exploited by just changing some behaviours. We need to change the system.

So, imagine if that School Strike energy broadened to be a fight against neo-liberalism and a movement for climate justice. A movement to end exploitation of the world, to end exploitation of people and communities and the environment.

With APEC planning to return, this is our chance to get public and show how damn angry we are. We need to counter the neo-liberal and colonial rhetoric that will be shoved down our throats in the build-up to APEC and start organising now to stop it.

We need to state that there can be no climate justice whilst big business, imperialism and colonisation are allowed to continue.

Let's stop APEC.



Moana Jackson's comments on APEC in 1999:

- * APEC is the continuation of the colonisation that the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand have faced for nearly 200 years and which other Indigenous Peoples have faced for over 500 years.
- * This colonisation, although not new, comes in new and different forms. We need to analyse these and learn how to respond to them.
- * Opposition and alternatives to this colonisation can only be addressed if we deal with its full history not just the last 10 mutated APEC years.
- * In Aotearoa/New Zealand alternatives must be built on the understanding and acceptance of the Treaty and the right of tangata whenua (Māori) to self-determination, sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga.